

School of Theology at Claremont



1001 1383541

BR
1705
F4
B6

SERIES

LIBRARY
SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA SCHOOL
OF THEOLOGY
CLAREMONT, CALIF.

O'Keefe

1931

BONIFACE.

✓
The Fathers for English Readers.

BR
705
4
B6
BONIFACE.

BY THE
REV. I. GREGORY SMITH, M.A.,
HON. LL.D. EDINBURGH;
AUTHOR OF
"THE RISE OF CHRISTIAN MONASTICISM," ETC.

PUBLISHED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE TRACT COMMITTEE.

LONDON:
SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE,
NORTHUMBERLAND AVENUE, CHARING CROSS, W.C.;
43, QUEEN VICTORIA STREET, E.C.
BRIGHTON: 129, NORTH STREET.
NEW YORK: E. & J. B. YOUNG & CO.

1896.

PREFACE.

THIS "Life of Boniface" is compiled chiefly from his correspondence and from the *Vita Bonifacii* by Willibald, a companion of Boniface. The *Letters* were edited by Dr. Giles (inadequately), 1844. I have referred occasionally to my *Rise of Christian Monasticism* (Innes & Co.). Other sources of information are mentioned in the Appendix to this volume.

CONTENTS.



	PAGE
I. INTRODUCTORY	9
II. EARLY LIFE	15
III. MISSIONARY SKIRMISHES	22
IV. BONIFACE IN THURINGIA	30
V. BONIFACE IN FRANCIA	44
VI. THE END	59
VII. BONIFACE AND ROME	74
VIII. LETTERS, ETC.	80
APPENDIX	102

BONIFACE.



I.

INTRODUCTORY.

THE barbarian hordes sweeping over Europe in the decadence of the Roman Empire brought good and evil, gain as well as loss in their train. They effaced what imperial civilization had done in Central Europe, and either crushed out Christianity altogether, or substituted in the place of it a spurious and corrupt Gospel. Within the old frontier of Augustus and Severus the onward march of the messengers of Christ was checked abruptly for a time. Westward of the Rhine and to the south of the Danube Rome had

planted her military outposts, and Christian missionaries had set up the cross; all this was overwhelmed in the crash of the prostrate Empire. But the advent of the Goths breathed a new spirit into the waning life of Europe, and quickened the pulses of men with the rude vigour of races not as yet demoralized by luxury.

Scarcely had the first waves of this deluge passed over Mid-Europe, than the deathless vitality of the Gospel asserted itself again, and the cross of the Redeemer rose upon the ruins of the Empire of the Cæsars. The conversion of the Franks was indeed precipitate and mechanical; their acclamations on the battlefield were merely an echo to the leadership of their victorious king; nor was a solid and permanent Christianity to be expected from such a beginning. Still one great result was achieved in the conversion of Clovis and his Franks. They became a barrier, such as the Roman legions

had been, to shelter the growth of tranquillity, order, and religion from the savage onset of tribes even less cultured than the Franks.

Before the coming of Boniface there were bishoprics in Austrasia, in Central Germany, in Bavaria, as well as in the more latinized regions to the west. Columban in Burgundy and Austrasia, Gall in Switzerland, Kilian and other messengers of Christ from the islands of the far west, had carried the glad tidings of a Saviour to the fierce hordes swarming from northern and eastern Europe. But these emissaries of Keltic Christianity were hardly the men to exercise a wide influence in converting the heathen. They were essentially monks rather than missionaries ; they sought the seclusion of the hermits' cave for themselves rather than to go forth and speak to the crowd ; their rule of life was too strict to be popular ; and though the unique sanctity of a life like theirs could

not fail, by its isolation from men, to appal the turbulent warriors, Pagan, or, at best, Arian in creed, among whom they lived and died, theirs was not the voice nor the hand that draws unbelievers by the loving compulsion of sympathy into the kingdom of light. Germany had to wait for that in the self-devotion of a stranger from England.

In the chaos and anarchy which ensued inevitably on the downfall of the colossal sovereignty of the Cæsars, the authority of Rome as the centre of Western Christendom stood out all the more conspicuously. The popes reconquered what the emperors had lost.¹ Many circumstances conspired at this time to give to Rome a virtual supremacy over Western Christendom. The eastern empire, partly by the Iconoclastic controversy, partly by the incursions of the Saracens, was forced to lose touch with the Western Church.

¹ Ozanam, *La civilisation Chrétienne sous les Francs*.

Rome became the rallying point for scattered forces, a refuge from the prevailing disorganization, the name of awe, which, as in time past but with a new significance, could control the discordant elements of brute force, surging wildly round her, a resort for the converging efforts of a faith majestic in its lowliness.

Of course this was more to be seen in Neustria than in the eastern kingdoms rising rapidly in territories, which had been brought in less degree under Roman influences. In Neustria the Church enthroned herself in high places, and her chief offices were sought eagerly by princely aspirants. But, as a natural consequence of this too close alliance with the luxury of courts, soon came a moral and spiritual deterioration. The chalices were of gold, but the priests, who handled them, it has been said, were of baser metal; while, by a revulsion, such as occurs continually, bishops and kings too often deserted the

responsibilities of office to hide themselves from an evil world in utter seclusion. The lawlessness and confusion of Europe, even within the pale of Christianity, called for a regeneration, and the answer came from England, from the lips of one eager to devote himself to the apostolic work—"Lord, send me!"

II.

EARLY LIFE.

WINFRIED, better known by his monastic name Boniface, was born at Crediton, very early in the last decade but one of the seventh century, in the reign of Ina, the renowned King of Wessex, and in the episcopate of Aldhelm. While still a little child he was much impressed by the visit of a monk to his father's house, and, as thoughtful children are apt to do, he treasured in his heart the words which fell from the lips of this strange visitor. The impression then made was deepened subsequently by a severe illness, when he was thirteen years old, and by the training which he, like other boys of clerkly promise,

received in a monastery, apparently near Exeter. His parents, affluent if not of noble rank, opposed for some time his boyish longing to take on himself the irrevocable vows of the cloister, but at last consented reluctantly. He was admitted in due course into the Benedictine brotherhood at Nutsall, Nutshalling, or Nutsey, near Winchester. At the age of thirty he was ordained priest. Soon he became eminent among his fellows for sanctity and wisdom, and was deputed by the Abbat Winbert and by the other abbats of Wessex to attend a council summoned by Bretwald, Archbishop of Canterbury. Learned men at that time were not plentiful in England.

The years which Winfried passed in the cloisters of Nutsall were a good preparation for the labours of Boniface the missionary. By the Rule of Benedict the postulant at the gates was tried and tested before admission; and the year, prescribed

by the founder, for the noviciate had been extended to a longer probation before Winfried's time, by Gregory the Great, in order to ensure stability of purpose before taking the vow. During this period of waiting the novice was under very strict tutelage, being entrusted to the fatherly superintendence of an older monk, bound to report everything to the abbat. Then came the day fixed for the solemn, irrevocable vow, and in assuming the black robe of the Benedictine order Winfried renounced the world, all his worldly possessions, all worldly aspirations.¹

Winfried's daily life at Nutsall was a good training for the spiritual warfare of the mission field ; for, whatever others might do or be, he was not one to be unreal in his monastic profession nor to relax for himself the severity of the Rule. The Benedictine Rule was mild in comparison with other monastic rules, but, if obeyed, it meant earnest and continual

¹ *History of Christian Monasticism*, pp. 154, etc.

self-denial. Contumacy of any kind was to be, first, reproved ; then chastised ; then, if the offender was incorrigible, he was to be expelled. The very word "discipline" came to mean, in a monastery, flagellation. The diet, though the Benedictine Rule permitted wine, and in other respects was genial and tolerant through consideration for our climate, was of course simple and plain. Baths were not encouraged. No letters might be received without the abbat's cognizance. In the long room, used as the common dormitory, the sleeping arrangements were anything but luxurious. Winfried was learning day by day to "endure hardships as a good soldier of Jesus Christ." ¹

A grand career lay before him at home. But dreams of worldly success had no charm for Boniface. Like French, Selwyn, Patteson, and other true soldiers of the Cross, his heart was set to renounce mundane am-

¹ *History of Monasticism*, pp. 184, etc.

bitions, and to plunge into the thick of the conflict with the powers of evil. There was nothing left to be done at home in the way of converting the heathen. His own people were the last of the Saxons in England to turn from Woden to Christ; Wessex, stubborn stronghold of Paganism, had surrendered. But the Frisii held out still; they must be won by the self-sacrifice of those of their own blood, who had settled in England; the children must turn the hearts of their fathers to the Saviour. Something had been attempted there already by another English Benedictine, Willibrod from Deira, but not much progress had been made as yet. It seemed a distinct call from Heaven to Boniface to offer himself for this enterprise; for Egbert, an English monk, trained in Ireland, had just been prevented by sickness from starting for Friesland as a missionary. Boniface stepped into the gap. With only two or three

comrades, monks of Nutsall like himself, he sailed from London and reached Dorstat near Utrecht, there to commence his mission.¹

It was not an opportune moment. Ratbod, King of the Frisii, and his warriors were devastating the churches and monasteries which the Franks had founded in the land ; and Charles Martel, not yet triumphant over the Saracens at Tours, was powerless to protect Boniface and his companions from the Frisii.²

It was a grievous disappointment. Boniface and his brethren had to make their way back to England with empty hands and hopes unfulfilled.

¹ Probably about 716 A.D. (Mabillon ; on the *Vita Bonifacii*, by Willibald.) But Cave, with others, gives 704 A.D. as the date. Boniface was more than thirty years old probably.

² The author of *Essays in Ecclesiastical Biography* speaks of Charles as waging war in Frisia at this time.

It is often so. Providence lovingly thwarts the too-sanguine hopes of a cheap and easy victory by failure at first, so as to discipline the too impetuous soul to more persistent efforts; that the stream dammed up for a time may gather together his waters and learn to force a way over all obstacles. It is the ordeal of waiting, by which the faith of the Canaanite mother in the days of the Christ on earth was evoked and strengthened. Boniface was to revisit Friesland, more than once in his missionary career, under very different auspices.

III.

MISSIONARY SKIRMISHES.

TWO years, apparently, Boniface stayed in the monastery at Nutsall, like a mountain climber taking breath before redoubling his efforts, or like a ship, battered by the storm, refitting in harbour for another and longer voyage. The monks, his brethren, would have liked him to be their chief. It would have been to the glory of their house, for Boniface had already made a name for himself in Christendom, and an admirable abbat he would have been. But his heart was back already in the mission field, which he had been compelled to quit for a time. Like St. Paul, he would not "build on other men's foundations." His thoughts turned

now, not to Friesland, but further inland, to a region more remote and inaccessible, to the forests of northern Germany, lying south of the Elbe, the land of his Saxon forefathers, and of the Hessian tribes. Two other monks from England, not from Wessex but from East Anglia, the brothers Ewald, had already made an attempt to re-christianize these parts. But very little had been accomplished. It was practically an untrodden path, such as Boniface longed for.

In those days it was no easy thing even to cross the rough waters, which severed our island from the Continent.¹

A second time he sailed from his native shore, this time to return no more.

It was an indispensable preliminary to his missionary work to obtain the Pope's sanction. Gregory II. was not one of the

¹ In one of his letters to the Pope Boniface describes feelingly the perils and discomforts of his voyage.

most eminent ¹ of those who have held that lofty position. Indeed, in the controversy about the worship of images he showed himself narrow-minded and fanatical. His attention, too, at this moment, was preoccupied by the pressure of the Saracens on Southern Christendom and the defection of the Eastern Church. But he had the proverbial and hereditary sagacity of the Papacy, to welcome and encourage a new outburst of zeal. Boniface ² brought with him a commendatory letter from his friend and patron Daniel, Bishop of Winchester. It happened, too, that Eadburga, an English princess, was then at Rome on pilgrimage. The interview between the monk from England and Gregory II., like an even more famous interview, on the terrace of the Lateran, centuries later, between

¹ An "ordinary" man. Milman, *Latin Christianity*, IV. vii.

² It was then and there, according to some writers, that he assumed this name; more probably on taking the monastic vow.

the founder of the Franciscans and the Pope of that day, teemed with momentous consequences to the future of the Church and of Christianity. Gregory gave his permission; Boniface promised loyal obedience to Rome and received the papal blessing.¹

Boniface also provided himself, like a wary general, with an equipment of a different kind, hardly less essential to success. The Franks at this time were eminent among the Teutonic tribes, who overran Europe, for orthodoxy and loyalty to the Church; and though their chief, Charles Martel, had not yet won his great victory at Tours over the unbelieving Saracens, his name already was one to inspire awe in Central Europe. In his own kingdom he was prompt and peremptory to resist the claims of the hierarchy, when these claims seemed to encroach

¹ Gregory's commendation of Boniface is addressed "to *All Catholics*."

on his own sovereignty, but for other purposes he was as willing to play the part of a dutiful son to the Church as any of his successors on the throne of France. Boniface with Gregory's help secured the support of the Frankish prince; and thus equipped with credentials ecclesiastical and military (as English travellers, fifty years ago, armed themselves with a Foreign Office passport), and taking with him certain reliques of peculiar sanctity from Rome as a pledge of the blessing of Heaven, he started from Rome for Thuringia; and passing through Lombardy, where he was well received by the King, he recrossed the Alps, as soon as the snow was passable, with a general commission from the Pope to evangelize Central Europe. His business there was twofold: to reform the many abuses which had crept in among those who still retained the outward profession of the Christianity which they inherited from the Roman Empire, and to convert the wild,

untutored hordes, a more recent influx into Germany from the north-east. The Romans while Christianizing these border tribes, had at the same time corrupted their primitive simplicity. Just as in modern times European vices have hindered the progress of European missions to the heathen, and as contact with civilization has introduced the "firewater" and other deteriorations, so contact with the luxury of Italy impaired the integrity of the Teutonic tribes. Incontinence superseded the respect for women, which had been a tradition of the race. Great laxity of doctrine and practice prevailed. The Arianism of the Goths had tampered with the Creed ; discipline was feeble ; not a few Christians had apostatized altogether. There was need of a strong hand and of a resolute will, not merely to carry the cross onward among the heathen, but to repress the excesses and to reform the faith and lives of those who were Christians nominally. Boniface, with his sturdy tenacity,

his unflinching devotion of himself to duty, was the very man.

The Duchy of Bavaria, from the Alps to the old Roman frontier, though visited recently by Rupert, Corbinian, and other missionaries, had become grievously demoralized. Boniface seems to have passed quickly on, being eager to reach the Saxon tribes, here and there still pagan, or professing a Christianity imported by the disciples of Columban, not altogether identical with Roman usages. But soon tidings of the death of Ratbod turned Boniface's thoughts again to Friesland. Perhaps it was not merely a longing to see again the scene of his earliest efforts. Perhaps he felt the need of further training under one older and more experienced than himself, for with all his indomitable courage he was never self-confident. Anyhow he turned his steps to the Frisii. There he assisted Willibrod, Archbishop of Utrecht, for three years, and then, declining to prolong his

stay, he made his way to the Hessi, following Charles Martel and his victorious army. In this pagan region, between the Rhine and the Elbe, he laboured successfully for a time.

IV.

BONIFACE IN THURINGIA.

BONIFACE revisited Rome 723 A.D., needing the advice, which he was never above taking, on not a few difficulties. For the conflict between Christianity and heathenism gave rise, as always in the mission field, to complications to be disentangled only by a clear eye and a firm hand. There was much to be defined and regulated. He was consecrated bishop without a see¹ on St. Andrew's day, a day especially suitable for a missionary leader. He seems to have submitted willingly to the oath usually taken by Italian bishops,² for he knew that the papal sanction was indispensable for success; fortify-

¹ Regionarius.

² Suburbicani.

ing himself with a commendation from the Pope to Charles Martel and others, he set off again for the North very early in the spring.

Eager as he had been from the first for the conversion of the Saxons, Boniface had learnt by experience the great lesson, to wait awhile. "Il recula, pour mieux sauter." He stayed for a time at the court of the King of the Franks, and secured the King's sanction before recommencing operations. The road to the conversion of the Saxons lay through the Hessian territory, on the frontier between the Saxons and the Franks. A decisive blow was needed : Boniface was not the man to shrink from such an emergency. The aged oak, sacred to Thor, at Geismar, was the centre of pagan worship, the very heart of heathenism for the Hessian tribes. The crowd of worshippers stood by, awestruck and appalled, to see their idol laid low by the axe of Boniface, who afterwards

used the planks to construct an oratory for his followers.

As was to be expected, the Hessians flocked to Christian baptism after witnessing so daring an exploit on the part of this strange preacher of a new faith, and gave themselves, like children, to one who in their eyes had shown himself stronger than their idols. All this gave Boniface a vantage-ground, of which he made good use, for correcting the disorder among the Christians in Thuringia. At the same time he seized the opportunity for pushing forward his outposts, planting mission stations for his monks at Ordorf near Erfurt, at Fridislar near the sacred oak, and, probably, at Hessian Homburg.

Boniface's letters to friends at home and to the Pope show how much he suffered, as the great Apostle of the Gentiles suffered in like manner from "false brethren," from anxieties about the insubordination of spurious

bishops and priests ordained irregularly. It was no question between them and Boniface about trivial things, as the shape of the tonsure or the date of Easter. Some were tainted with the error of the Manichees, and objected to the sacramental elements ; some taught that there was no need to be baptized. Boniface, as usual, was not too proud to be advised. Indeed it was the secret of his courage and perseverance, that he was singularly free from self-will and self-reliance. His firmness was not the obstinacy of conceit. He writes to ask his old friend and patron, Daniel, Bishop of Winchester,¹ whether it will be enough to avoid communicating in church with these heretics and taking counsel with them, or must he avoid any association with them altogether? He writes to Archbishop Nothelm, successor to Bretwald at

¹ Boniface uses "Vester" not "tuus" in addressing the Bishop ; both to the King of Mercia.

Canterbury, begging for a copy of the letters of Gregory the Great to Augustine.¹ He confides his anxieties to the Pope, who in reply asks Charles Martel, as Patrician of the Empire, to use his influence to check the mutinous spirit of lawlessness and disaffection. But it is most of all in his letters to the old country that the missionary finds relief, and in the loving interchange of gifts. Several of his correspondents are devout women, some his kinswomen, and he writes to all affectionately, as sisters in Christ. He begs Egburga to send him a copy of a manuscript, and Eadburga, who sent him an altar-cloth with money, to send him the Epistles of St. Peter, perhaps because of the Apostle's supposed supremacy, illuminated and gilt, to be used in preaching. He wants the Prophets in large writing, because of the dimness of his eyes, and some of Bede's works, "espe-

¹ Gregory wisely advised Augustine to be considerate in dealing with pagan customs.

cially on the Proverbs." Sometimes he wants warm clothing for himself and for his comrades, "the cloke left" at home, and other such necessities.

It is noticeable that his female correspondents were not only apt at illuminating manuscripts, but could express themselves in Latin fluently. They had leisure in the Benedictine cloister for study. Sometimes Boniface has to acknowledge tokens of affection from home of a different kind, spices for incense in church, knives, the handiwork of monks in his old monastery, a silver inkpot. The giving is not all on one side. Boniface sends back in return, what he can, a rug of silk and goats' wool, to be wrapt round the feet in the cell on a winter's night, and a rough towel for wiping the feet of the brethren when the Bishop or Abbat washed them on Maunday Thursday, wine from the vineyards on the Rhine, and a pair of falcons of a special breed for hawking. He is never

too occupied with his ministerial duties to remember old friends. He condoles tenderly with Bishop Daniel on his bodily ailments. He writes as St. Paul about Onesimus, about two slave-boys whom he had freed (by purchase or by persuasion) from their slavery. As the Apostle worked at tent-making, so Boniface and his companions at weaving mats and rugs. In this, and in other ways not a few, one is reminded of the greatest of missionaries. There is the same kindly thoughtfulness for others even in little things, the same sympathy with their lives and pursuits, even the same weakness of eyesight. At the end of one letter the amanuensis inserts his own greetings, just as Tertius did, holding the pen for St. Paul's dictation, in the Epistle to the Christians at Rome.

Boniface's correspondence shows, as in a mirror, the variety of his occupations and how multifarious were his duties. Work, however incessant, is easy comparatively,

when the way is straight and clear; but Boniface's path was beset with perplexities, especially about Church discipline, often such as missionaries have to solve now-a-days. The law of marriage, as in all times, was a fruitful source of controversy. Is it lawful, Boniface inquires, for those who are akin¹ to marry? Not within the fourth degree, comes back the answer from Rome. Is the marriage tie annulled by conversion, when there are more wives than one? Yes, is the Pope's reply, but the rejected wife must be provided for. Some questions recall the early days of the Church at Corinth. Gregory lays down the rule, that Christians are not to partake of meats offered to idols, if they

¹ Boniface inquires (*Ep.* xl.) of Nothelm, successor to Bretwald in the See of Canterbury, whether cousins thrice removed may marry, requesting that a copy may be sent to him of the correspondence between Gregory and Augustine, and adding, that the copyists (*scriniarii*) at Rome had doubted the genuineness of the letters.

know it. Those who have been duly baptized, he writes, are not to be baptized again, unless there is doubt whether the rite has been administered with water in the Name of the Holy Trinity. Only one chalice, not more, is to be used in the Mass. Lepers may come to that service (of course, with precautions), but not to feasts; the clergy are not to fly from pestilence. Again and again Boniface seeks direction what to do with priests of evil life. Gregory advises reproof rather than what is now termed "boycotting," and that priests accused may clear themselves by oath, if there are no witnesses. He pronounces excommunicate all patricides, all sellers of slaves for human sacrifice, and, what is less obvious, all who "defile themselves by the execrable custom of eating horseflesh."¹ He approves of offerings for the dead, with the limitation, only for the

¹ The list of creatures unclean for human food includes hares and many birds.

devout. On Maunday Thursday the feet of women are to be washed by women only.

In one letter, apparently of a more formally authoritative kind, Gregory addresses himself, not to his legate, but to the people and clergy of Germany, insisting on the necessity of great strictness in ordaining ; no Africans¹ nor Manichæans are to be ordained, nor any who have been baptized twice. Ordinations are to be at the Ember seasons ; Baptisms at Easter and Pentecost especially. The offerings of the faithful² are to be divided into four parts—for the bishop, the clergy, the poor, the fabrics and furniture of the church.

In many of Gregory's replies to Boniface there is much that is reasonable and considerate. Probably he had good advisers at hand. Nor is there the oracular ambiguity which evades the difficulty instead of solving it. Sometimes however the answer

¹ Possibly because of the Pelagian heresy.

² He says not, as is sometimes imagined, the tithes.

given is more open to censure. If a child has been placed in a monastery he may not come out, when grown up. The directions about the Easter fire and the chrism in Holy Baptism seem needlessly minute ; and, a graver fault, there is a mercenary spirit in the exhortations to holiness, and tears are said to wash away sins.¹

Boniface's correspondence with his friends in England is especially interesting. His earliest patron, Bishop Daniel, sends some useful arguments against polytheism, and counsels patience and forbearance in the tone of Bishop Selwyn pleading for his Maoris. At the same time the Bishop, while speaking severely of depraved clergy, advises that they should be corrected, but not repelled summarily. Boniface writes to Bishop Porthelm, who succeeded Daniel, about a question

¹ "merces," "lucrum," *Ep.* xxv. Similarly Bishop Porthelm writes to Boniface, "agis pro tuæ animæ redemptione." *Ep.* xxviii.

of discipline, which troubled him more than once. There was a general consent, Boniface writes, of the clergy, Frank, Gallic, Roman, against a godfather marrying the widow-mother of the child, and this was in accord with the Roman custom of regarding the spiritual relation of persons at the font as equivalent to a carnal kinship. But Boniface demurs to the alleged wickedness of such a marriage. "All Christians," he urges very practically, "in Christ are brothers and sisters." The same questions occur in a letter to Abbat Dudda, an old pupil of Boniface, who speaks of himself, with characteristic modesty, as having been an incompetent teacher. Boniface requesting his prayers and a copy of some treatise of the Fathers on St. Paul's Epistles ("I have something," he adds, "on Romans and Corinthians I."), wishes to know his opinion on this point. Are the Romans right, and is it very wrong for a godfather to espouse the

mother of his godchild? Boniface finds time, notwithstanding his many pressing duties close at hand, to admonish some of his Benedictine brothers beyond the sea. After a respectful greeting to the abbat ¹ ("in gyro primo") and to the brethren, he exhorts them to be orderly, each in his proper office. Cangitha, Abbess, whose daughter Eadburga (Bugge) has been mentioned already, a kinswoman of Boniface, implores his advice in her troubles arising from the unsettled state of England. He comforts them both and dissuades them from the idea of flying to Rome for safety, at any rate till that city itself becomes safer. He writes to Nidhard, apparently a young man with large possessions, and warns him not to be of a worldly spirit. Most interesting and exemplary of all these letters to England is one to Ethelbald, King of Mercia, in which, while reproving the King

¹ The expression "*Reverentia vestra*" is scarcely out of use yet in its English form.

for his profligacy, he tempers the reproof with charity and courtesy,¹ so as to make it far more effective. He seems with his invariable modesty to have submitted this letter to Egbert, Archbishop of Canterbury, begging him to correct it before sending it on. It is no wonder that the eyes and hearts of all at home, in all parts of England, turned to Boniface in the wilds of Thuringia. Sigebald of Wessex writes to beg Boniface to be to him joint bishop with Daniel. It was an eccentric notion, but evidently prompted by real admiration. Ebwald on the other side of the island claims Boniface as his "patron," to guide and intercede for him. It would be astounding, all this letter-writing on the part of one so occupied as Boniface, but that the busiest people often find more time to help others, than those who enjoy more leisure.

¹ He sent to Ethelbald at the same time a hawk, two falcons, two shields, and two lances, appropriate gifts at any rate for the recipient.

V.

BONIFACE IN FRANCIA.

THE accession (731 A.D.) to the papal throne of a new pope, the third of the same name as his immediate predecessor, only strengthened the tie between Boniface and Rome. Gregory III. confirmed all that his namesake had done for Boniface and conferred upon him the archiepiscopal pall, as Archbishop and Legate.¹ The pall was to be worn in the Mass and in ordaining. When disreputable clergy appealed from Boniface to Rome, the new Pope frowned

¹ Apparently with jurisdiction over Cologne, Mayence, Worms, Spire, Trèves, and Liège. By his great victory at Tours (A.D. 732), Charles Martel rolled back the tide of Saracenic invasion, and gave fresh courage to missionary enterprise.

on them, as Gregory II. had done. He addressed an encyclical letter to the clergy generally, and more particular mandates to the Thuringian and Hessian Christians, and to the Bavarian and German bishops to receive and assist Boniface. In a letter to Boniface he speaks, in vague terms, of "one hundred thousand converts" to the Church through Boniface ; and, it is certainly a remarkable illustration of the progress made, that the Pope ordered a synod to be held twice yearly at Augsburg or elsewhere on the Danube as a safeguard against heretics, "especially British heretics coming into those parts." These last words probably refer to Virgilius from Ireland, an active missionary, but at this time under the ban of Boniface for contraband opinions about the shape of the earth and other things.¹

¹ He was afterwards Archbishop of Salsbourg, and in 1223 canonized. He believed and taught that the earth is round, and that there are people at our Antipodes.

Gregory enjoined the re-ordination of all priests, about the regularity of whose ordination there was any doubt, provided that they proved themselves worthy; and, treading in the steps of his predecessor and namesake, he ordered that persons, who had been duly baptized, should not be baptized again,¹ but admitted to confirmation. Nuns were forbidden to take any part as ministrants in the divine office. Widows were not to be allowed to take the veil, but were to be dissuaded from a second marriage; divorced persons were not to marry again; all marriages within the degrees of affinity were prohibited. Bishops, priests and deacons were to live as if unmarried with their wives; for the other clergy no rule was prescribed.

The celibacy of the clergy had not yet been enforced by the iron hand of Hilde-

¹ So Pope Zacharias subsequently pronounced all baptisms valid, administered with water in the Name (*Epp.* lvi. lxxi. etc.) of the Blessed Trinity.

brand. Gregory supported his legate firmly against recalcitrant monks and clergy.

In 738 A.D. Boniface made his last pilgrimage to Rome, not as at first, a missionary priest, scarcely known there by name, but with a large following of converts and monks. He had much to report of what God had done by his instrumentality in those regions where seven centuries later, another monk, a Reformer greater even than Boniface, was to shake Christendom. Almost alone, like Elijah on Carmel, or Gideon at Araunah, he had confronted the idols and their worshippers in their own primæval forests, and while purifying and consolidating the Church within the pale, he had extended the confines of it widely. It has been well said that the achievements of Boniface, Willibrod, and Willibald more than compensated for all that the Church lost to the Saracens in southern and eastern Europe.

But it was not for Boniface to rest long

at Rome. It was probably in 739 A.D., at a Council, which with the Pope's sanction he summoned on the banks of the Danube, perhaps at Ratisbon, that, in concert with Duke Odilo, he founded four Bavarian bishoprics, Salzburg, Freisingen, Passau, Ratisbon or Regensburg.

After some years in Thuringia, where he could now leave his lieutenants in command, the lawlessness of priests and people having been brought under control, Boniface revisited Friesland, the scene of his earliest enterprise, the object, very dear to him always, of his earliest aspirations. There he was welcomed eagerly, and there he was again invited to stay, as coadjutor to the aged Bishop Willibrod. This he declined, but stayed there three years, helping very effectually till his presence was required again in Thuringia. As he returned by a circuitous route, which took him along the Moselle, an incident occurred, which helps

one to realize the personal attractiveness of such a man as Boniface. In a monastery, near Trèves, a boy, Gregory by name, was so fascinated by what he heard from the lips of the great missionary, and by his demeanour, that he besought leave to accompany him in his labours and perils. The offer was accepted, and next morning, when the little band of travellers resumed their journey, the boy, with a mounted servant, followed in the train of Boniface, and was to him ever afterwards as a son, as Timothy to the great Apostle of the Gentiles.

The authority and influence of Boniface were in their zenith, when (A.D. 741) Zacharias succeeded Gregory III. on the papal throne. His voluminous correspondence with the new Pope shows, indeed, unabated sympathy and confidence on both sides; but it shows also that Boniface, after years of intimacy with the predecessors of Zacharias, could write to their successor, at times, in a tone

of grave expostulation, if not of downright reproof. At the Frankish court too, at this time, things were propitious to Boniface. The more peaceful policy of the sons of the great warrior was more favourable to missions than the continual restlessness and bellicosity of Charles Martel, which sometimes hindered missionary work in the very effort to promote it. Carloman was by disposition very amenable to monastic guidance, and his brother was glad to have the help of Boniface to correct the licence prevailing among his clergy, by getting rid of Keltic lawlessness, and by welding together the fabric of Church and State under the auspices of Rome.

The correspondence between Boniface and Pope Zacharias is very interesting. The new Pope refused to appoint another legate in Germany—"Boniface is enough." When appealed to by Boniface for guidance on knotty questions he quoted and affirmed the

canons of his predecessors, as declaring "the custom of Christendom and of Rome." With the worldly prudence in which he perhaps thought his saintly delegate to be wanting, he reminded him, that it is not possible in every case to avoid all intercourse with unworthy bishops, if patronized by princes. He advised that degraded priests should retire into the ranks of the laity, not into a cloister. He encouraged Boniface to send his opponents, Aldebert, Clemens and Godelsacius, who seem to have caused Boniface a good deal of trouble, to Rome for punishment, if they persisted in their contumacy. Some of the Pope's directions are very minute, for example, as to the seasons during which it was lawful to eat bacon. Boniface asked, whether he might ordain under the age of thirty, and whether ordinations might be held at other times in the year than the four Embertides. To both queries the answer was affirmative.

The attention of Boniface was turned at this time chiefly to Frankland, where in the work of reforming and organizing he showed the same courage and perseverance as in carrying the cross to wilder regions. In 742 A.D. he presided at what was probably the first provincial council in Mid-Germany.¹ The Bishop of Mayence, Gewilieb, a prelate addicted to the chase and stained by homicide in fighting, was deposed and Boniface installed in his place, as Archbishop.²

The letters of Zacharias to Pepin supply abundant evidence of the corrupt state of the Church among the Franks and of the eagerness of their king for a reformation. The higher ranks of the clergy set a terrible example. Again and again Zacharias condemned in severest terms, the flagrant im-

¹ At a subsequent council, in a palace or villa of Carloman, near Cambrai, these decrees were ratified.

² Boniface preferred Cologne as his headquarters (perhaps as nearer his beloved Friesland), but there was no vacancy there.

morality of monks, nuns and clergy, and the various irregularities which had crept in through the abeyance of discipline. Renegades from the monastery or the presbytery were to be punished summarily. He prescribed a life-long penitence for a murder, five or seven years for a homicide, seven years for an adulterous husband, or, as if the wife were a mere chattel, for the husband whose wife sinned in that way. Many private chapels had sprung up, without the licence of a bishop ; these, if used for the sacraments, were to be placed under Episcopal control. Zacharias indited a letter¹ of warning and reproof to the bishops and clergy, etc. of Neustria against these scandals. Boniface applied himself vigorously to the work of cleansing the Augean stable, and as the Papal Legate, with the sanction of Pepin, appointed new bishops to carry out the reformation under his direction ; instituted an annual synod of the

¹ Cf. Milman, *History of Latin Christianity*, IV. xi.

Neustrian clergy ; strictly forbid the clergy, "the servants of God," to indulge in hunting and hawking, or, except as military chaplains, to resort to camps. With the approval of Zacharias, who seems in his declining years, and with the sanction of Pepin and Carloman, to have left things more than ever to the discretion of his legate, Boniface summoned the clergy to a synod¹ and appointed three metropolitans, the Bishops of Rouen, Rheims and Sens. In this synod Aldebert, a fanatic, popular with the uneducated, and Clemens, an adherent of the old British Church, both prominent among those who resisted Boniface, were condemned ; and their condemnation was ratified by a synod at Rome.

Pope and King were on very friendly terms, and both alike were desirous of Boniface's unflinching energy to set things right. In

¹ By issuing "*literæ evocatoriæ*." One of the heresies condemned was that Christ, when He descended into Hades, set free all the souls there.

all his reforms Boniface avoided even the semblance of being arbitrary or despotic, and tried to do all things constitutionally. With the one hand he leaned on the ecclesiastical authority of Rome, with the other on the civil authority of the King. An interesting letter from Zacharias to Pepin, before Pepin's coronation, shows how well adapted was the framework of the Church for repressing and extirpating abuses, if only the right men were in office. Each bishop was to control his own diocese;¹ never intruding into another diocese, unless by special order from his metropolitan, who, again, was never to interfere with another province, unless by a special decree of the general synod. Suffragan² bishops, to assist the bishops of the cities in the rural parts of their several dioceses (they are compared by Zacharias to the Seventy Disciples sent forth by the Saviour) were to be subject entirely to their own bishops; they

¹ "Parochia."

² Chorepiscopi.

might ordain clergy below the rank of deacon ; but deacons and priests owed obedience to the bishop, not to his suffragan. The various orders in the ministry were to be distinguished, each by the dress peculiar to the order ; the word of Christ about "two coats" was not to be understood of the under-garments for health and cleanliness.

While organizing things among the Franks, Boniface was still mindful of Central Germany. In 742 he placed bishops at Würzburg, Buraburg, Erfurt, and at Eichstadt, where he appointed his nephew and loyal follower Willibald.¹ Two years later he founded the famous monastery, specially identified with his name, at Fulda, in the forest of Buchenau, which became to the Benedictine communities of Germany what Monte Casino was in Italy. Here he made Sturm, a Bavarian, the first abbat, often,

¹ Not the biographer of Boniface.

however, himself finding a brief rest and refreshment there amid his labours.

In a letter, addressed to Boniface, Pope Zacharias advised him to create bishoprics only in cities, not in places of less importance, "lest the title of bishop should become too common ;"¹ for instance, at Würzburg in Bavaria and Erfurt in Thuringia. There too he gave his sanction to synods being held annually, a point on which the Frankish ruler seems very wisely to have insisted, with the obvious intention of coercing profligate and irregular clergy. Pepin and his immediate successors set themselves, after the example of Constantine, to promote in every way, so far as lay in their power, the order and the discipline of the Church in their dominions and wherever their influence extended. Conscious how much of their success they owed to the help of Rome, they were not slow to repay the

¹ "Ne vilescat nomen episcopi," *Ep.* l.

debt, thus making themselves more secure and improving the condition of their subjects. Under their government the persons of ecclesiastics and the property of the Church were protected by the rigorous enforcement of very severe penalties against offenders of any rank, even the highest in the land.¹

¹ "In 751 the shadowy sovereignty of the Merovingians faded utterly away. That Boniface was present at Soissons and consecrated Pepin to be king in name as he and his fathers had long been in deed, is affirmed by Bulteau and Matter, following the mediæval annalists. It may be argued, that one, whose influence had made itself felt so constantly on the policy of Christendom, would hardly be content to stand by, a passive spectator of the extinction of the old dynasty. Boniface possibly estimated the importance of what was being done at its true value, thinking with Pope Zacharias, that he, who was already king for all practical purposes, might as well wear the crown.

"In the following year Carloman abdicated his throne and retired to Monte Casino, leaving his brother sole king. It has been supposed that Boniface prompted this step; on the other hand it is to be noted, that after Carloman's abdication Boniface began to withdraw from public life, requesting the Pope to depute some one else as papal commissary at the synods."—*Rise of Christian Monasticism*, pp. 277, 278.

VI.

THE END.

MORE than once in his old age Boniface asked to be relieved, in part at least, of the heavy burden of his responsibilities. He offered to resign his see, that some one younger and more active might take his place, but Zacharias would not hear of it. It is not to be supposed that Boniface thought of resting altogether from the work of his life. Probably, like Bishop French, the saintly Bishop of Lahore in our own time, Boniface desired in his old age to serve as a soldier in the ranks, and, freed from the trammels and disquietudes of his high position, to have more leisure for quiet communing with God. It is not surprising. For

there is no trace in Boniface's letters of the selfishness, which loves power for its own sake and finds happiness in dictating to others. When a man has reached the appointed goal, "the three score years and ten" of his pilgrimage, and when those years have been years of incessant work and intense solicitude for others, he may well ask to be relieved, and such a request from Boniface was surely prompted by his self-distrust, not by any cowardly longing for ease.¹

In these last years of his life there are, indeed, no signs of failing energies. His thoughts reverted to Friesland; and, undaunted by previous discouragements, for the third and last time he set his face to revisit the land whence came his forefathers to Britain. It was no light enterprise for a

¹ "In 753 A.D., or in the following year, Boniface named Lul, with consent of Pepin, his successor in the see of Maintz, intimating his presentiment that the end was near."—*Rise of Christian Monasticism*, p. 279.

man of seventy-five; and he made his preparations for the journey as one well aware what the risk would be, taking with him only a few of his most trusted followers, a copy of the Gospels, a copy of Ambrose's treatise *De Bono Mortis*, and an altar-cloth to be his shroud.¹

With the grave uncertainties of his journey before him, Boniface made his arrangements with characteristic thoughtfulness for all committed to his care. One of the last acts of Zacharias had been to make the monastery at Fulda in Hesse exempt from diocesan control,² and subject only to the Pope. It had been founded a few years before this in the woods on the banks of the river of that name, under Boniface's auspices, by Sturm, one of his converts

¹ "The veteran missionary was as unwilling as any of his warrior forefathers to die peacefully and ingloriously. He would die, as he had lived, in harness."—*Rise of Christian Monasticism*, p. 279.

² An evil precedent.

from the Danubian provinces, Carloman giving the site.¹ Boniface, before starting for Friesland, wrote to the new Pope, Stephen, begging him to bestow the same fostering care, as his predecessors, on Germany. To Pepin he wrote in the same strain, through Fulredus, the King's chaplain. "I die : ask the King to protect those whom I love, my clergy, monks, pupils, the aged."² He speaks in another letter of the Christians in Thuringia, as his "very dear sons." With the consent of Pepin he nominated Lul to succeed him. His sympathetic thoughtfulness for others finds something to do, as in his younger days, in every direction. He appeals to Rome, to settle a dispute about Utrecht, where the Bishop of Cologne claimed jurisdiction. Ethelbert sends from England a pair of falcons, an

¹ Milman's *Latin Christianity*, IV. v. Pepin confirmed the exemption of Fulda.

² Pepin had rescued Stephen from the Lombards, and had received from the Pope the title of "Patricius."

incongruous gift for Boniface, but meant kindly, and begs the Bishop's prayers. One who had been trained by Boniface writes to thank him. Boniface writes to Optatus, an abbat in England, requesting his prayers and proposing to exchange him with a list of departed friends, to be remembered in their intercessions. Several of Boniface's last letters are to dear and intimate friends, to Lioba, his cousin, who seems to have been specially worthy to be loved, and to others; one, like St. Paul's letter to Philemon, is on behalf of a young slave; one, a very gracious but uncompromising expostulation, is a last attempt to win back to Christ, Ethelbald, the licentious King of Mercia.

The end of this life of indefatigable labours was like a glorious sunset.¹ Infirm and decrepit in body, but dauntless as ever in

¹ This passage is from my *History of Christian Monachism*, p. 188.

spirit, wrapping his Ambrose's *De Bono Mortis* in the folds of his Benedictine habit,¹ Boniface embarked on the Rhine with Coeban (or Doban), a co-adjutor Bishop, and a handful of devoted followers, clergy, acolytes, and others, threading his way among the villages scattered here and there among the marshes of Frisia. On a summer's ² day the messengers of peace, a little company of some fifty in all, planted their tents on the banks of a river near Dockum, there awaiting the arrival on the morrow of a large number of converts to be baptized by the missionary bishop. But the early morning witnessed a strangely different sight. Boniface and his companions (one is reminded irresistibly of Patteson on Nupaku) found themselves beset by a concourse of armed pagans, eager to stop the progress of these destroyers of their idols and to seize the vessels of gold and silver supposed

¹ Sir James Stephen, *Essays in Ecclesiastical Biography*.

² June 4th or June 5th.

to be in their keeping. Some attempt at self-defence was made by the younger Christians, but in vain. Boniface with characteristic fortitude (one is reminded irresistibly of Gethsemane) checked this ineffectual resistance and met the fate which doubtless he had long anticipated, if not longed for, with the calmness of one of the early Christians in a Roman amphitheatre. Scarcely one of his followers escaped. His assailants fought among themselves over the scanty booty, which disappointed their expectations; and Pepin availed himself of this excuse for invading Frisia by way of avenging the massacre of the Bishop and his companions.

The body of the martyred missionary, with the books his companions in death as in life, was conveyed by pious hands to Maestricht, and thence, by order of Lul, who succeeded Boniface at Mayence, to the monastery of Fulda¹

¹ "His copy of Ambrose *De Bono Mortis* was ex-

first, and afterwards to Mayence to rest there. A year after the death of Boniface Cuthbert wrote to Lul, that the Synod had ordered the birthday to be kept of the saintly martyr as well as the day of his decease, an unusual distinction.

Lul was no unworthy successor. Of all his comrades Boniface had designated him for that office. The letters extant show that Lul had to endeavour to fill his master's place (no easy task) by responding to the almost endless perplexities accompanying the growth and extension of the Church. One of the queries propounded to him was, "Is it lawful for husband or wife to marry again, if the partner to the marriage contract is taken captive?" In another letter Lul was called upon to decide as to the rightful appointment of a new abbeſs. Like his predecessor, Lul acted in concert with Pepin, ordering at one

hibited during many ſucceeding centuries at Fulda as a relic."—*Essays in Ecclesiastical Biography*.

time fastings and prayers for fair weather, at another time thanksgivings and thank-offerings for harvest, with the sanction of the King.

It is interesting to observe the conduct and demeanour of Boniface in regard to the Papacy. Certainly in those troublesome days of violence and lawlessness, when might too often prevailed over right, and when prowess in arms had the mastery, it was an advantage that there was at Rome a central power, representing the claims of Christianity to the obedience of the conscience, and able to awe the stoutest of warriors by spiritual fears. Boniface wisely availed himself of all this, as a prop and a lever in his conflict with evil. In his letters to Rome, he is invariably respectful and deferential; not only when addressing the Pope himself, but even when addressing the Pope through the intervention of one of the officials of the Papal See. The Popes and their secretaries were equally

courteous in writing to the world-famous missionary. But Boniface, when his duty demanded it, could be outspoken even to the Pope himself. When Boniface found his missionary efforts hindered by reports of evil doings at Rome, of permission given there to magical arts, charms, incantations, and other pagan superstitions, and of simoniacal abuses in conferring palls, he remonstrated plainly and earnestly with his chief. Zacharias repudiated the charges brought against him and his officials ; but he showed in his reply no resentment against Boniface personally. In the same spirit of sturdy independence Boniface reproached Zacharias for allowing the Roman populace to indulge themselves in the pagan ceremonies of Imperial Rome, and with conceding to a man of high soaial rank leave to marry uncanonically. Boniface resisted Pope Stephen in regard to the consecration of a bishop at Metz. In the correspondence with Boniface the style of the Pope

in designating himself varies as time goes on. In the early part of the eighth century he is merely "Servant of the Servants of God"; later on he describes himself as head of "the Catholic and Apostolic Church of Rome."¹

It is difficult to measure precisely the area of Boniface's influence as a missionary. He had the gift of being able to use others; he

¹ "In the single figures and devotional pictures St. Boniface is represented in the episcopal robes and mitre, the crosier in one hand, in the other a book, transpierced [*sic*] with a sword. Or he is . . . baptizing a convert, while he sets his foot on a prostrate oak. Such figures are frequent in German art, and doubtless [were frequent] in our own abbeys and cathedrals. . . . He is seldom met with in Italian art.

"The most splendid monument ever consecrated to St. Boniface is the Basilica, which bears his name . . . founded by King Louis of Bavaria 1835. . . . The frescoes have been executed with great care in a large, chaste, simple style. [In] the departure from Southampton . . . the short, black, sleeveless tunic over the white cassock is the travelling and working costume of the Benedictine monk."—Jameson's *Legends of the Monastic Orders*.

knew that what can be done directly in person is little in comparison with what may be done through the agency and instrumentality of lieutenants. The greatest teacher is he who transmits his teaching through his disciples ; the greatest missionary is he who, not content with being foremost himself, is all the time training and disciplining his followers to carry on the work, when he shall have passed away.¹ The horizon of the mission-field was for ever receding as Boniface led his missionaries further and further, to the Slaves, the Saxons, to the Poles, Wends, Bohemians, south-east of the Elbe. Nor was it a superficial conquest. Whatever Boniface did was done thoroughly. Xavier in Southern India, one of the most devoted of missionaries, made converts by thousands, but the impression made was not lasting; it was soon effaced, like writing on the sands of the

¹ See Latham's *Pastor Pastorum* on the training of the Apostles.

shore ; the converts baptized in crowds without adequate preparation, fell away quickly from their too hasty profession. But the work of Boniface was permanent. As time went on the sees, which he had founded, losing the simplicity which their founder intended, became secularized by the pomp and arrogance of mediæval feudalism ; for even the noblest institutions are subject to decay ; but, speaking generally, the work done by Boniface lasted, because it was done thoroughly, and with singleness of heart.

Thoroughness was indeed the characteristic of Boniface, thoroughness in the devotion of himself to duty, thoroughness in the conception of the work to be done, thoroughness in mastering the minutest details of it. Ever ardent, ever longing for fresh enterprise, he yet remembered that the work in hand must be done, before attempting anything new ; he was plodding, persevering, tenacious. If he seems (as indeed he seemed to Pope

Zacharias) too severe in his treatment of Adalbert and Clement, it was because he knew that without order and discipline things would inevitably fall to pieces. When the way lay straight and clear before him, he hesitated not for fear nor favour. Like Ambrose with Theodosius, or Savonarola with Lorenzo, he was not afraid to admonish King Ethelbald plainly of his faults.¹ His enthusiasm was tempered by sturdy, practical shrewdness. When some one came to him troubled and perplexed asking, "Why came the Saviour to earth so late in time?" his answer was no answer to the speculative doubt, but intensely practical, "It is never too late for us to turn to Him." Writing to Archbishop Cuthbert he protests against nuns wearing ornaments. Writing to Pepin, he warns the King against Anofried, a plau-

¹ He warned the King that his vices would draw down disasters on his people, like the invasion of Spain by the Moors.

sible impostor, who had deceived not a few. Boniface's sermons are short and sensible: even while enforcing dogma, he gives to the doctrine a practical application: his sermons are neither profound nor brilliant, but they are terse and strong, and never rhetorical. In his letters the exordium is often verbose and stilted, for such was the fashion of the time; it was proper to begin with compliments; but when Boniface comes to the point, Cromwell could scarcely put it more succinctly. Both in letters and sermons citations are frequent from Holy Scripture and from the Apocrypha indiscriminately.

The secret of the strength of Boniface was his absolute surrender of himself to Christ, his unswerving fidelity to duty. From first to last, like Samuel in Hebrew history, Boniface was consistent. "Beati fideles."

VII

BONIFACE AND ROME

THE relation of Boniface to the Papacy is characteristic of the age in which he lived. It seems strange, at the first glance, that in a period when the difficulties of travel were far greater than now, and remote places consequently far more inaccessible, and when war was the normal condition of European states, Christendom was nevertheless more closely welded together, than now in a time comparatively peaceful and with every facility for intercourse. But so it was in the eighth century, partly, because the obligations and the blessedness of unity had not yet relaxed their hold over Christians, and partly because the turbulence and lawlessness of brute force

compelled Christians to combine together for self-defence and security. A central stronghold of the faith was needed, round which the scattered forces of the Cross could rally, while the tumult was raging around them. Where should this be but in the Imperial City, which still retained in the thoughts and imaginations of men, the unfading grandeur of her almost universal sway, and which, in the downfall of the Roman Empire had enthroned the pontiff on the seat of the Cæsars, substituting the vague mysterious awe of a spiritual power for the majesty of a mundane sceptre and the might of resistless legions?

All this is evidenced again and again in the life of Boniface. When he sets off, the first time, on his missionary expedition, he goes to Rome, to seek the Pope's sanction and blessing. When the time comes for him to report the progress of his work, he visits Rome again. As the mission work extends itself and the horizon widens of the mission

field, he gets leave from the Pope to consecrate new bishops, to convoke synods, to organize, to reform generally. If uncertain on a doctrinal question, he has recourse to Rome for guidance. If in perplexity, what course to take in a practical emergency, he seeks the solution there. When his subordinates are refractory, when disorder is rife, when malpractices require the coercion of a strong hand and of a severe discipline, Rome is ever ready to support him, and to enforce the punishment which he thinks deserved. Nor was Boniface one to be ungrateful for help received in time of need, nor to avail himself of the advantages which his mission derived from Rome, without due acknowledgment. He was thoroughly loyal to Rome throughout his career ; he never allowed himself, as happens sometimes, intoxicated by success, to want to be independent ; with the true lowliness of spirit, which was indeed one of the most beautiful traits of his saintly character, he

always spoke and acted, as only the deputy and the servant of a superior authority.

But, for all this, one must be careful in drawing conclusions from the history of Boniface in order to apply them to the controversy between Rome and the Church of England. In fact the close cohesion of Christendom at that date tended to efface the lines of ecclesiastical demarcation between one nation and another. It would be an anachronism to identify the conditions of the age of Boniface with those of the sixteenth or nineteenth centuries. Again, it must be remembered, that Boniface, as a missionary in Central Europe, in no way represented the Church of his native land. He was no emissary of Canterbury nor of York, though he sailed from our shore and was born and bred in our island. In his work on the continent he owed no allegiance to them. Again, no one can study the correspondence of Boniface, without observing, that it is to England and to old

friends there, bishops, abbats, and others, that he turns in a dilemma, as well as to Rome. It was this absence of self-confidence, in the bad sense of that sometimes distorted word, which was his strength. Instead of relying on his own judgment and insight, he was glad to avail himself of the experience of others. His was truly the "teachable wisdom from above."

Still more is it important to distinguish the respectful loyalty to Rome of Boniface from the modern development of it. In this respect he stands midway between Ultramontane notions and primitive Catholicity. There is in him no prostration before an infallible pronouncement, no blind and unreasoning submission to an edict which must not and cannot be questioned; no abject, servile renunciation of the right to think and of the duty to inquire. Nor is Boniface ever slow to speak out plainly against what he believes to be blameworthy even at the head-quarters

of the Papacy. He protests respectfully but vigorously and firmly against evil doings there (as has been indicated already), and warns the Pope of the danger to the Church at large, if the practices which he censures may seem to be tolerated and acquiesced in by those who exercise authority in the capital of Christendom. Surely Boniface, had he been at the Vatican Council of this century, would have been an adherent of Bishop Dupanloup and others in their contention against the autocracy of Rome.

On other points in the controversy between the Reformed and Unreformed Church there is less occasion to notice the position of Boniface. He was not primarily a theologian. The bent of his disposition, and his intellectual capacity, fitted him rather for the daily avocations of the practical life than for abstruse contemplation. With all the fire and zeal of a Savonarola, with all the unfaltering pertinacity of a Luther, he was not

the man to innovate on doctrinal subjects. With his courage and self-devotion he would, doubtless, have raised his voice against error there, as in other ways, had he deemed it necessary. His shrewd sense and the sobriety of his judgment might have led him to see superstition in some of the religious observances of his day; but a life and a temperament like his were too preoccupied with the urgent claim, day by day, of work to be done,¹ to leave him the necessary leisure. He seems, on the whole, to judge from his sermons and letters, to have taken for granted what was customary in religion; and yet now and again, as, for instance, on the question of the affinity of sponsors, there are indications that his good sense compelled him to hesitate in accepting the opinion in vogue.

¹ In Dr. Samuel Johnson's private prayers he speaks of this life "wherein much is to be done and little can be known."

VIII.

BONIFACE'S LETTERS.

THESE selected letters are characteristic of Boniface. They show his zeal and his familiarity with Holy Scripture. In one he writes as a student. Others show his boldness in rebuking those in high places ; others his tenderness for those committed to his care. The extract from one of the sermons attributed to him is typical of the man and of his time.

TO Eadburga, a sister worthy to be embraced in the golden bond of spiritual love, and with a divine and chaste kiss of affection, Bonifacius, Bishop and Legate of the Roman Church, wishes health in the Lord.

We implore the pitifulness of your affection with heartfelt prayers, to deign to intercede for us with the Maker and Ruler of all things. And, that you may know the cause of this intreaty, know, that for our sins the course of our journey is hindered by various storms. "On every side toil and trouble, fightings without, fears within." Worst of all, the treacheries of false brethren surpass the malice of unbelievers ; pray therefore the gracious Defender of our life, the only sure Refuge of those in trouble, that His Right Hand may keep us safe amid these dens of wolves, and that He may guard us from harm, so that the footsteps of apostates walking in darkness may not be found, where should be the "beautiful feet" of those who carry the peaceful light of the gospel, but that the most gracious Father and God may help us to "gird up our loins" with "bright candles" in our hands, and that He may enlighten the hearts of the heathen to

gaze at the glorious gospel of Christ. Meantime, I beseech your kindness to deign to intercede for those pagans, who have been entrusted to us by the Apostolic See, that the Saviour of the World may vouchsafe to rescue them from idolatry and to unite them to the sons of our only mother, the Catholic Church, to the praise and glory of His Name, Who wishes "all to be saved, and to come to the knowledge of His truth."—
Ep. xvii.

TO BUGGA.

733 A.D.

To Bugga, a sister venerable and very dear, Bonifacius, who is also Winfridus, servant of God's servants, wishes affectionately the health that is to be desired in Christ.

Dearest Sister, since the fear of Christ and the love of going to foreign parts have separated us by a long interval of land and sea, I have heard from many of the stormy trials, which by God's Will have come on thee in old age. I have groaned in myself, sadly and sorrowfully considering, how, after laying aside the larger anxieties of the convents, thou hast encountered, in seeking the tranquillity of the life contemplative, troubles more incessant and more overpowering. Now then, venerable sister, sympathizing with thy trials, and mindful of thy kindnesses and of our friendship in days past,

I send to thee brotherly letters of exhortation and comfort, begging thee never to forget the true saying, "In patience ye shall possess your souls." And the word of Solomon, wisest of men, is, "Whom God loveth, He chasteneth, and scourgeth every son whom He receiveth." And the Psalmist says, "Many are the troubles of the righteous, and God shall deliver him out of them all." And elsewhere, "The sacrifice of God is a troubled spirit. A bruised and lowly heart God despises not." And remember the saying of the Apostle, "Through many tribulations we must enter into the kingdom of God." And elsewhere, "We glory in tribulations, knowing, that tribulations work patience, and patience experience [probation], and experience hope, which maketh not ashamed." In that hope, dearest sister, always rejoice and be glad, because thou shalt not be ashamed ; and try with all thy heart to despise worldly troubles, because all soldiers of Christ, men

and women, have despised the storms and troubles and weaknesses of this life, and have counted them as nothing, as St. Paul bears witness, saying, "When I am weak, then am I strong;" and elsewhere, "Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? Shall distress, or hunger, or nakedness, or peril, or persecution, or the sword? (As it is written, For Thy sake we are killed all the day; we are reckoned as sheep for the slaughter.) But in all these things we conquer because of Him, Who has loved us," Who is thy Father, and Who has loved thy chaste virginity, and Who in the early days of thy youth, drew thee to Himself with a Father's voice of love and called thee daughter, saying by the Prophet,¹ "Hearken, daughter, and give ear, and forget thy own people and thy father's house, because the King has pleasure in thy beauty." It is He, the same, Who now in thy age longs to

¹ Psalmist.

adorn and embellish the beauty of thy soul by toils and troubles. But thou, dearest, rejoicing in hope of the inheritance of the heavenly country, set the shield of faith against all adversities which befall heart or body, so that with the aid of Christ thy spouse thou mayst complete the building of the evangelic tower which was begun in youth, and so that, when Christ comes, thou mayst be worthy with the wise Virgins to meet Him bearing a lamp bright and replenished with oil. In the meantime, I implore thee with earnest prayer, in remembrance of the old promise, to deign to pray for me, that the Lord, Redeemer and Saviour of all, may rescue my soul from those manifold troubles of which I spoke, with spiritual edification. Farewell in Christ.—*Ep.* xxxi. •

TO DUDDUS.

736 A.D.

TO my beloved son, Duddus, Abbat, Bonifacius, who is also called Winfridus, wishes health and happiness in Christ.

I wish thee, my dear son, to remember the saying of a wise man, "Keep the old friend," so as not to forget in old age the friendship of days past, which we began in boyhood long ago and have kept ever since, but that thou mayst remember thy father, now very infirm and in all his limbs going the way of all earthly things. And even though I have not been¹ a learned teacher, still I may truly say, as thou thyself art witness, that I have tried to be to thee the most devoted of teachers. Mindful of that devotion pity me, now an old man, shattered by the storms of the German Ocean raging round me ; I mean, with prayers

¹ "fuissèm."

poured forth to God, try to relieve me and to assist me in the study of the holy scriptures, especially in devout treatises of the holy fathers, because a devout treatise is known to be a teacher of those who read the holy scriptures. I beg thee to be so kind as to send me for my assistance in the knowledge of the things of God part of a treatise, which I have not, on the Apostle Paul. For I have treatises on two Epistles, to the Romans and the former to the Corinthians. Likewise if thou shalt come on anything in thy sacred studies likely to be of use to me, which I may seem to overlook or not to have by me, be so good as to suggest it to me, as a faithful son, though I am but a rustic father, and to favour me with thy opinions; and, if it seem good to thee, let this be reciprocal, and whatever my son and messenger, Eoba, priest, shall communicate to thee by word of mouth about the marriage of those who have stood as godparents at the font in baptism, search,

I pray thee, in the scriptures, why it is deemed at Rome a mortal sin. And if anywhere in ecclesiastical writings thou shalt find anything on this point, do not hesitate to tell me. Dear friend, we wish thy Blessedness health and happiness and growth in Christ.—
Ep. xli.

CONCLUSION OF A LETTER TO POPE
ZACHARIAS.

742 A.D.

To my dear Lord, endued with the tiara of the highest Pontificate, Zacharias, a man apostolic, Bonifacius, servant of the servants of God.

* * * * *

Besides I am bound to inquire earnestly of your fatherly advice about a certain laxity, hindering God's word, which has lately troubled me greatly ; and, indeed, the clergy generally

were greatly shocked, because a layman of consequence came to us saying, that permission had been given to him by Gregory, pontiff of the Apostolic See, to take to wife the widow of his uncle, the wife, too, of his cousin, who deserted her husband and is clearly akin in the third degree to this man who asserts, because he wants to marry her, that leave has been granted to him ; and she made a vow of chastity to God and took the veil, and then, renouncing the veil, married again. For the person in question affirms, that he is permitted by the successor of the Apostles to contract such a marriage. Which I disbelieve ; for in the Church, wherein I was born and bred, in Saxony beyond the sea, a synod of London, originally constituted by disciples of the sainted Gregorius, Augustinus, Laurentius, Justus, and Mellitus, archbishops [*sic*], pronounced such a marriage, on the authority of holy scripture, a very great crime, incestuous, horrible, and worthy

of the severest penalties. Wherefore I pray your fatherly goodness to deign to say how the matter really is, lest offences, divisions, new errors spring up or be encouraged, which must ensue, if profligate persons, unlearned Germans, Bavarians, Franks, see things done at Rome, which we forbid as sinful, and suppose that permission is given by priests, and so disparage us and place a stumbling-block in their own way. As they affirm, they have seen at Rome, year by year, in close proximity to a church, by day and night, in the early kalends of January, people singing in the street, after the custom of pagans, with heathenish shoutings and blasphemous incantations, and tables laden with banquets; and they say, that no one then will supply his neighbour with fire, nor with the loan of any implement nor other commodity. They say too, that they have seen women there with phylacteries and bandages, such as pagans use in their rites, on their arms and

legs, and publicly offering these things on sale to others. And all this, seen at Rome by depraved and ignorant people, is a great reproach here and hindrance to the preaching of the truth. . . . For if your fatherly wisdom shall have forbidden these heathenish customs in the city of Rome, great will be the reward to yourself, and great the advancement of the Church in the instruction of the people.

Boniface proceeds to allege, what is even more serious, that bishops and priests from Frankland of very evil character, claim to have permission from the Pope to exercise their ministry. He cannot, however, believe that this is possible.

Finally he begs his "very dear Lord" to send him such an authoritative refutation of these allegations as may save the Church from grievous wolves.—*Ep.* xlix.

The reply of Zacharias, courteous and friendly, shows that he did not take this remonstrance amiss.—*Ep.* l.

TO ETHELBALDUS.

745 A.D.

AFTER assuring the King of deep sympathy with him in prosperity and adversity, and after commending him for liberality in almsgiving and for repressing thefts, robberies, and other deeds of violence in his kingdom, Boniface remonstrates sadly and seriously with him for his licentious habits.

“Would that what I hear about this were not true. For I have been informed from many quarters, that thou hast never taken to thyself a wife in lawful wedlock, a practice ordained by God from the beginning of the world, and of which St. Paul says, ‘To avoid fornication, let every man have his own wife, and every woman her husband.’”

If this has been for chastity and from the fear of God, Boniface goes on to say, he thanks

God ; but if, alas ! as has been reported commonly, this is in order to live in profligacy, he grieves profoundly ; for it is disgraceful before God and men. If, moreover, the sin has been committed, as is said, with women pledged to virginity and consecrated in a special way to God, the sin is doubled. He quotes the Apostle's words, "Know ye not, that your bodies are temples of the Holy Ghost?" and similar passages. Therefore he warns his "dearest son" to consider the enormity of the offence, more to be shunned even than other sins, "a deadly snare, a hellish pit, a gulf of perdition." He implores his "very dear son" to beware of defiling "the image of God" by devilish profligacy, and of becoming "slave of sin," after having been placed by God's providence on the throne. Even the heathen (he says, evidently with regard to the Teutonic reverence for women) punish with death adulterers and adulteresses. He draws a vivid picture of an unchaste

matron or maiden, among the German tribes, scourged and lacerated with knives by a mob of infuriated women from town to town, and of a devoted wife refusing to survive her husband. He appeals to the King, for his people's sake, to turn from the excesses of his youth (if indeed it has been so), lest they also perish. For the English, he says, have an evil reputation on the Continent for these vices ; and surely they will degenerate, unless they amend their ways, as the people of Spain, Burgundy, Provence, have suffered through sensuality. Child-murder, he says, follows the prevalence of these sins of the flesh as a not infrequent consequence. He reproves the King also, severely, for having oppressed and despoiled monasteries, exhorting him to take warning from the miserable end of Ceolred, his predecessor in Mercia, and Osred, King of Deira and Bernicia.

Boniface closes his letter with passages

from Holy Scripture, on the folly of sin and the vanity of earthly things. "What shall it profit a man, if he gain the whole world and lose his soul?"—*Ep.* lxii.

OTHER LETTERS

IN one of his last letters (*Ep.* lxxviii., 752 A.D.) Boniface makes a very touching appeal to Fulred, at the court of Pepin, to use his influence with the King, for Boniface's monks and clergy, when he shall have passed away. He urges, how poverty-stricken and helpless they are (some of them, too, very aged) in their missionary work on the borderland ("prope marcam"), and begs that Lul may succeed him, as one who will watch over the flock faithfully and wisely.

In another letter, about the same date, he commends to Denchardus, a priest, a young slave, Athalerus, and charges Denchardus to befriend the slave, as if he were a freeman ("sicut ingenuum"), particularly because the slave is about to be married. It is St. Paul writing to Philemon on behalf of Onesimus over again.

PERORATION OF THIRD SERMON.

ACCORDINGLY let young men and young people generally obey their elders in all spiritual questions, doing nothing without the advice of the elder. Let them be subject in humility and obedience, that they may be made worthy, when the suitable time shall come, to minister to Christ, who is God. If they shall not have learned in youth what is good, how shall they be able to have it or to impart it to others, when they shall be old? For all people everywhere, rich or poor, old or young, masters or servants, in authority or subject, must love God and keep His precepts diligently. They must be truthful in speech, upright in judgment, merciful and pitiful, earnest in service, lowly in conduct, patient against all troubles, and they must learn the right faith, the Catholic faith, carefully, living in faith, hope, charity. They must keep the

appointed fast in purity of life and adorn their fasts with almsgiving, that they may bestow on others what they take from themselves. They must also render their tithes to the Lord God Almighty, that the Lord God may send a blessing on their labours. They must come more often to church, especially on festivals, nor may they talk there,¹ but they must be earnest in prayer with heartfelt contrition, as is fitting in the house of God, and in the presence of the King of kings. And if any one shall have fallen into a fault, he may rise again from it more speedily by confessing it, and so may cleanse himself and become penitent; because God's mercy is rich to forgive the sinner, if he will turn himself to the way of righteousness, as says the prophet,² "I will not the death of a sinner, but rather that he may be converted and live." Also in another place about willing and working at the last, "Whenever a man shall turn, he

¹ Vaniloquium.

² Ezekiel.

shall live, and not die." And so the envy of the devil tempts us to sin ; but the mercy of God, Who desires our salvation, exhorts us to turn from sin to righteousness, that we may be made worthy of eternal glory with His saints. And this we ought to know and believe most surely, that all our deeds and thoughts will be judged in the last day. Now for sinners, who will not let their faults go and obey God's commands, there shall be everlasting torments in perpetual fire with the devil and his angels. But to them, who turn themselves to Almighty God with all the heart, living in love and obeying God's precepts, shall be eternal glory, bliss, and joy, with Christ and His Saints, world without end.—*Sti. Bonifacii, Opp.* (Giles) ii. pp. 65, 66.

APPENDIX.¹

It is scarcely credible that Boniface ever occupied the See of Utrecht. Willibald is silent about it. A Canon of Utrecht, writing in the fourteenth century, claims this honour for his cathedral, alleging that Boniface succeeded Willibrod or Clemens (A.D. 744). But the same writer represents Boniface as the founder at Utrecht of a church of canons, an apparent anachronism, which discredits his testimony, even apart from this not intrinsically trustworthy.² Bulteau thinks that Boniface was made Archbishop of Utrecht after resigning Mainz.³ It is more likely that Boniface superintended the See of Utrecht as Papal Legate for a short time, when it became vacant in A.D. 733, appointing as his coadjutor or subordinate,⁴ Coeban or Doban, one of his missionary fellow-labourers; an arrangement all the more likely,

¹ *Christian Monasticism*, pp. 290-293.

² Joan. de Beka, *Hist. Vit. Episc. Ultraject*, pp. 8, 9, 10.

³ Bulteau, *Hist. de l'Ordre*, etc., IV. xii.

⁴ Willib. *Vit.* xii. : "Co-episcopus," al. "chorepiscopus."

if Utrecht was still a see beyond the pale.¹ The long-standing rivalry between Utrecht and Cologne probably helped to foster the idea that Boniface was formally appointed Archbishop of Utrecht.

Boniface was statesman and scholar as well as missionary, an able administrator as well as an earnest preacher; and his aim was to civilize as well as Christianize the heathen of the fatherland.

The sanction of the Papal See was almost indispensable for the success of his efforts; for the helpless feebleness of the Merovingians and the strong self-assertion of the Carolingians were alike unfavourable to the growth and development of the Church. Boniface was wise in seeing this. But he never allowed himself to be made a mere puppet in the hands of the Popes; he appealed for guidance and direction in his perplexities to England as often as to Rome; he was not afraid even, if necessary, to expostulate reprovingly with the Pope himself.

The extent and multifariousness of his labours are amazing. Besides the more directly missionary work of journeyings and preachings beyond the right bank of the Rhine, there were monasteries of his own founding to be visited and superintended; councils, latterly one or more in a year, to be presided over; questions without end to be

¹ "In partibus infidelium."

settled on points ranging from abstruse doctrine to small trivialities of ceremonial or of social propriety. His work was, also, embarrassed by many complications, by the controversies between the Roman Church and the Christians not in communion with it, between the Frank monarchy and the Gallican bishops, and by that which is the standing difficulty of missionaries, the difficulty of deciding when to allow, and when uncompromisingly to prohibit old heathen customs not altogether in accordance with Christianity, yet very deeply rooted in the hearts of the people. Among all these conflicting interests a firm hand and a discriminating eye were needed to hold the balance steadily. Boniface was a man who could say "No," and a strict disciplinarian; but his letters show the kindness and geniality of his nature, and the number of his devoted personal followers proves that he could win and retain men's hearts. And thus, which is indeed the surest test of true greatness, his work survived him. In every department of it he left disciples willing and able to carry it on to completion. It is no exaggeration to say, that, since the days of the great Apostle of the Gentiles, no missionary of the Gospel has been more eminent in labours, in perils, in self-devotion, and in that tenacity yet elasticity of purpose, which never loses sight of its aim, even while compelled to

approach it by some other route than that which it proposed to itself originally, than Winfried, known in the annals of Christendom as Boniface, "the Apostle of Germany."

Boniface's letters are important in their bearing upon the history of his age, as well as on his own life: *Epistolae S. Bonifacii Mart. Prim. Mogunt. Archiep. German. Apost. etc.*, per Nic. Serarium, Soc. Jes. Presb. Mogunt. 1605. These were re-edited by Wurdtwain, Mogunt. 1790. Dowling (*Notitia*, s.v.) and Cave (*Hist. Liter.* s.v.) attribute to him *Statuta Quaedam S. Bonif. Archiep. Mogunt. et Mart.* (Dacherii, *Spicilegium*). There are also sermons bearing his name (Martene et Durandus, *Ampliss. Collectio*, ix. ; Pezii, *Thesaur. Anecd.* ii.). The *Vita S. Livini* is assigned to him by Serarius, but this is disputed. Mabillon¹ assigns it to an older Boniface.

The earliest life of Boniface is the memoir of him by Willibald (not the nephew of Boniface, the Bishop of Eichstadt), apparently a constant companion of Boniface, and an eye-witness of much which he relates.

This was re-written with slight additions by Othlo, a German monk, in the eleventh century.

¹ *Ann. O.S.B.*, XIV. vii.

RICHARD CLAY & SONS, LIMITED,
LONDON & BUNGAY.

PUBLICATIONS

OF THE

Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

Church History Cartoons.

From Pictures drawn by W. J. MORGAN. Each picture illustrates an important event in the History of the Church of England. The Cartoons are bold and effectively coloured. Size, 45 in. by 35 in.

- No. 1. Gregory and the English Slaves, A.D. 589.
2. St. Augustine and King Ethelbert, A.D. 597.
3. Manumission of Slaves by an English Bishop.
4. The Martyrdom of St. Alban.
5. St. Columba at Oronsay, A.D. 563.
6. St. Aidan preaching to the Northumbrians.
7. The Venerable Bede translating St. John's Gospel, A.D. 735.
8. Stonehenge.
9. Iona at the Present Day. Founded A.D. 565.
10. Murder of Monks by the Danes, Crowland Abbey, about 870 A.D.
11. The Martyrdom of St. Edmund, A.D. 870.
12. St. Dunstan reproving King Edwy, A.D. 955.
13. Norman Thanksgiving after the Battle of Hastings, A.D. 1066.
14. The Murder of Thomas A'Beckett, A.D. 1170.
15. The Crusaders starting for the East.
16. Archbishop Langton producing before the Barons the Charter of Henry I., A.D. 1213.
17. Preaching at St. Paul's Cross, A.D. 1547.
18. The Seven Bishops sent to the Tower, A.D. 1688
19. The Consecration of Matthew Parker as Archbishop of Canterbury, Dec. 17th, 1559.

1s. 4d. each on thick paper.		3s. mounted and varnished.
2s. mounted on canvas.		4s. ditto ditto, on roller

WORKS ON CHURCH HISTORY, &c.

A Handy Book of the Church of England. By the Rev. E. L. CUTTS. New Edition. Crown 8vo. Cloth boards. 5s. [A work which aims at meeting inquiries upon the main points of the Church's History and present position. It covers a large area, and ought to be in the hands of all Church Workers as well as in those of General Readers.]

Ancient British Church, A Popular Account of the. With special reference to the Church in Wales. By the Rev. E. J. NEWELL, M.A. With Map. Fcap. 8vo. Cloth boards. 2s. 6d. [A lucid book on a department of history hitherto much neglected.]

A Story of the Church of England. By Mrs. C. D. FRANCIS. Post 8vo. Illustrated. Cloth boards. 1s. 6d. [A very simple narrative history of the English Church.]

By-Paths of English Church History. Home Missions in the Early Mediæval Period. By the Rev. CHARLES HOLE, B.A. Post 8vo. Cloth boards. 1s. 6d. [Gives a clear view of some of the roots of English Christianity.]

Celtic Church in Scotland, The. Being an Introduction to the History of the Christian Church in Scotland down to the death of St. Margaret. By the Right Rev. JOHN DOWDEN, D.D., Bishop of Edinburgh. Fcap. 8vo. Buckram boards. 3s. 6d. [The writer brings a wide knowledge to bear upon his subject, and deals with it in a bright and interesting manner: for General Readers.]

Church in England and its Endowments, A Brief Sketch of the History of the. With a List of the Archbishops, tracing their succession from the present time up to the Apostles, and through them to Christ. By the Rev. GEORGE MILLER. Post 8vo. Paper cover. 4d. [A clear and simple statement of the history of Church endowments. For General Readers.]

Church History in England. By the Rev. A. MARTINEAU. From the Earliest Times to the Period of the Reformation. 12mo. Cloth boards. 3s. [For reference and general use.]

Church History (A Chapter of English): being the Minutes of the S.P.C.K. for the years 1698-1703, together with Abstracts of Correspondents' Letters during part of the same period. Edited by the Rev. EDMUND MCCLURE, M.A. Demy 8vo. Cloth boards. 5s.

WORKS ON CHURCH HISTORY, &c.—Continued.

Church History, Illustrated Notes on English. By the Rev. C. A. LANE. Vol. I.—From the Earliest Times to the Dawn of the Reformation. Vol. II.—Its Reformation and Modern Work. Crown 8vo. Cloth. 1s. each. [Deals with the chief events during the period. The illustrations, amounting to over 100 in each Volume, add to its popular character.]

Church History, Sketches of. From the First Century to the Reformation. By the late Rev. Canon ROBERTSON, M.A. Post 8vo. Cloth boards. 2s. [A simple and attractive account of the leading events in Church History, from A.D. 33 to the Reformation: for general readers; suitable also for use in Sunday and day schools.]

Church History in Scotland, Sketches of. By the late Rev. JULIUS LLOYD. Post 8vo. Cloth boards. 1s. 6d. [An account of Church affairs in Scotland from St. Columba's Mission to Iona until the present time.]

Church History, Turning Points of English. By the Rev. E. L. CUTTS, D.D. A new and revised edition. Crown 8vo. Cloth boards. 3s. 6d. [The leading events in the Church of England from the earliest period of British history to the present day, showing the Church questions that have arisen, and yet remain as our inheritance; for Churchmen in general.]

Church History, Turning Points of General. By the Rev. E. L. CUTTS, D.D. Crown 8vo. Cloth boards. 4s. [The leading events in General Church History from the time of the Apostles to the present day; useful for a text-book in schools, &c., and for general readers.]

Churchman's Life of Wesley (The). By R. DENNY URLIN, Esq. Crown 8vo. Cloth boards. 3s. 6d.

Dictionary (A), of the Church of England. By the Rev. E. L. CUTTS, D.D. With Numerous Woodcuts. Crown 8vo. Cloth boards. 5s. [A manual for the use of clergymen and schools.]

Great English Churchmen; or, Famous Names in English Church History and Literature. By the late W. H. DAVENPORT ADAMS. Crown 8vo. Cloth boards. 3s. 6d.

WORKS ON CHURCH HISTORY, &c.—Continued.

- Grosseteste, Robert, Bishop of Lincoln, The Life and Times of.** By the Rev. G. G. PERRY. Post 8vo. Cloth boards. 2s. 6d. ["Grosseteste chiefly as a reformer in ■ corrupt period of the Church, and his quarrel with the Pope": for general reading.]
- History of the English Church, in Short Biographical Sketches.** By the late Rev. JULIUS LLOYD. Post 8vo. Cloth boards. 1s. 6d. [Leads the reader, by a series of selected lives, to a general idea of the Church History of England.]
- John Wicliff, His Life, Times, and Teaching.** By the Rev. A. R. PENNINGTON, M.A. Fcap. 8vo. Cloth boards. 3s. [This work embraces the result of recent researches: for general reading.]
- Lectures on the Historical and Dogmatical Position of the Church of England.** By the Rev. W. BAKER, D.D. Post 8vo. Cloth boards. 1s. 6d. [Supplies in short compass a clear account of the historical position of the Church of England: for General Readers.]
- Lessons from Early English Church History.** By the Right Rev. G. F. BROWNE, B.D. Post 8vo. Cloth boards. 1s. 6d. [These lectures are true lessons, and have much to teach the ordinary Churchman.]
- The Christian Church in these Islands before the Coming of Augustine.** By the Right Rev. G. F. BROWNE, B.D. Post 8vo. Cloth boards. 1s. 6d. [A lucid and scholarly account of this obscure period of English Church History: for General Readers.]
- The Church of England: its Planting, its Settlement, its Reformation, and its Renewed Life.** Four addresses by the late Rev. E. VENABLES, M.A. Post 8vo. Cloth boards. 1s. [A useful summary.]
- The Story in Outline of the Church of England.** By the Rev. Canon GARNIER, M.A. Sm. post 8vo. Paper covers. 3d. [Gives a short and simple historical account of the Church of England.]
- The Title Deeds of the Church of England: an Historic Vindication of her Position and Claims.** By the Rev. Canon GARNIER. Post 8vo. Cloth boards. 3s. 6d. [The sub-title explains the aim of this book, which is written in a lucid and interesting manner.]

STORIES FOUNDED ON CHURCH HISTORY.

Attila and his Conquerors. A Story of the Days of St. Patrick and St. Leo the Great. By the late Mrs. RUNDLE CHARLES. Crown 8vo. Cloth boards. 3s. 6d.

Champions of the Right. By the Rev. E. GILLIAT, M.A. Crown 8vo. Cloth boards. 2s.

[A series of selected Biographies, illustrating English History.]

Conquering and to Conquer. A Story of Rome in the Days of St. Jerome. By the late Mrs. RUNDLE CHARLES, author of "The Schönberg-Cotta Family." Crown 8vo. Cloth boards. 2s. 6d.

[Presents a fair Picture of Society in Jerome's time : for General Readers.]

Gaudentius. A Story of the Colosseum. By the Rev. G. S. DAVIES. Crown 8vo. Cloth boards. 2s. 6d.

[A Picture of Roman Morals yielding to the Pressure of Christianity : for Educated Readers.]

Jack Dane's Inheritance. A Tale of Church Defence. By FRANCES BEAUMONT MILNE. With one page Woodcut. Post 8vo. Limp cloth. 6d.

[A story upon the rights and liberties of the Church of England.]

Lapsed, not Lost. A Story of Roman Carthage. By the late Mrs. RUNDLE CHARLES. Crown 8vo. Cloth boards. 2s. 6d.

[A Story of the time of St. Cyprian : for General Readers.]

Mitslav : or, The Conversion of Pomerania. By the late Right Rev. R. MILMAN, D.D. Crown 8vo. With Map. Cloth boards. 3s. 6d.

Narcissus. A Tale of Early Christian times. By the Right Rev. W. BOYD CARPENTER. Crown 8vo. Cloth boards. 3s. 6d.

Stories for the Saints' Days. By S. W., author of "Stories for every Sunday in the Christian Year." Fcap. 8vo. Cloth boards. 1s. 6d.

[An Epitome of the Lives of certain Saints and Fathers : for Ordinary Readers.]

The Church in the Valley. By ELIZABETH HARCOURT MITCHELL. With four page Woodcuts. Crown 8vo. Cloth. 2s. 6d.

[A story which introduces much Church History, and is well calculated to spread useful information upon the Disestablishment question.]

The Villa of Claudius. A Tale of the Roman-British Church. By the Rev. E. L. CUTTS, D.D. New Edition. With four page illustrations. Crown 8vo. Cloth boards. 1s. 6d.

DIOCESAN HISTORIES.

- Bath and Wells.** By the Rev. W. HUNT. With Map. Fcap. 8vo.
Cloth boards. 2s. 6d.
- Canterbury.** By the Rev. R. C. JENKINS. With Map. Fcap. 8vo.
Cloth boards. 3s. 6d.
- Carlisle.** By RICHARD S. FERGUSON, Esq. With Map. Fcap. 8vo.
Cloth boards. 2s. 6d.
- Chester.** By the Rev. RUPERT H. MORRIS, D.D. With Map.
Fcap. 8vo. Cloth boards. 3s.
- Chichester.** By the Rev. W. R. W. STEPHENS. With Map and
Plan of the Cathedral. Fcap. 8vo. Cloth boards. 2s. 6d.
- Durham.** By the Rev. J. L. LOW. With Map and Plan. Fcap.
8vo. Cloth boards. 2s. 6d.
- Hereford.** By the Rev. Canon PHILLOTT. With Map. Fcap. 8vo.
Cloth boards. 3s.
- Lichfield.** By the Rev. W. BERESFORD. With Map. Fcap. 8vo.
Cloth boards. 2s. 6d.
- Norwich.** By the Rev. A. JESSOPP, D.D. With Map. Fcap. 8vo.
Cloth boards. 2s. 6d.
- Oxford.** By the Rev. E. MARSHALL, M.A. With Map. Fcap. 8vo.
Cloth boards. 2s. 6d.
- Peterborough.** By the Rev. G. A. POOLE, M.A. With Map. Fcap.
8vo. Cloth boards. 2s. 6d.
- Salisbury.** By the Rev. W. H. JONES. With Map and Plan. Fcap.
8vo. Cloth boards. 2s. 6d.
- Sodor and Man.** By A. W. MOORE, M.A. With Map. Fcap. 8vo.
Cloth boards. 3s.
- St. Asaph.** By the Venerable Archdeacon THOMAS. With Map.
Fcap. 8vo. Cloth boards. 2s.
- St. David's.** By the Rev. Canon BEVAN. With Map. Fcap. 8vo.
Cloth boards. 2s. 6d.
- Winchester.** By the Rev. W. BENHAM, B.D. With Map. Fcap.
8vo. Cloth boards. 3s.
- Worcester.** By the Rev. I. GREGORY SMITH, and the Rev. PHIPPS
ONSLow. With Map. Fcap. 8vo. Cloth boards. 3s. 6d.
- York.** By the Rev. Canon ORNSBY, M.A. With Map. Fcap. 8vo.
Cloth boards. 3s. 6d.

NON-CHRISTIAN RELIGIOUS SYSTEMS.

Fcap. 8vo. Cloth boards. 2s. 6d. each.

- Buddhism.** Being a Sketch of the Life and Teachings of Gautama, the Buddha. By T. W. RHYS DAVIDS. With Map.
- Buddhism in China.** By the Rev. S. BEAL. With Map.
- Christianity and Buddhism: a Comparison and a Contrast.** By the Rev. T. STERLING BERRY, D.D.
- Confucianism and Taoism.** By Professor R. K. DOUGLAS.
- Hinduism.** By Sir M. MONIER WILLIAMS. With Map.
- Islam as a Missionary Religion.** By CHARLES R. HAINES. 2s.
- Islam and its Founder.** By J. W. H. STOBART. With Map.
- The Corân: its Composition and Teaching and the Testimony it bears to the Holy Scriptures.** By Sir W. MUIR, K.C.S.I.
- The Religion of the Crescent or Islam; its Strength, its Weakness, its Origin, its Influence.** By the Rev. W. ST. CLAIR-TISDALL, M.A. 4s.
-

THE FATHERS FOR ENGLISH READERS.

Fcap. 8vo. Cloth boards. 2s. each.

- Leo the Great.** By the Rev. Canon GORE, M.A.
- Gregory the Great.** By the Rev. J. BARMBY, B.D.
- Saint Ambrose: his Life, Times, and Teaching.** By the Ven. Archdeacon THORNTON, D.D.
- Saint Athanasius: his Life and Times.** By the Rev. R. WHEELER BUSH. 2s. 6d.
- Saint Augustine.** By the Rev. EDWARD L. CUTTS, D.D.
- Saint Basil the Great.** By the Rev. R. T. SMITH, B.D.
- Saint Bernard, Abbot of Clairvaux, A.D. 1091—1153.** By the Rev. S. J. EALES, M.A., D.C.L. 2s. 6d.
- Saint Hilary of Poitiers and Saint Martin of Tours.** By the Rev. J. GIBSON CAZENOVE, D.D.
- Saint Jerome.** By the Rev. EDWARD L. CUTTS, D.D.
- Saint John of Damascus.** By the Rev. J. H. LUPTON, M.A.
- Saint Patrick; his Life and Teaching.** By the Rev. E. J. NEWELL, M.A. 2s. 6d.
- Synesius of Cyrene, Philosopher and Bishop.** By ALICE GARDNER.
- The Apostolic Fathers.** By the Rev. Canon SCOTT HOLLAND.
- The Defenders of the Faith; or, the Christian Apologists of the SECOND AND THIRD CENTURIES.** By the Rev. F. WATSON.
- The Venerable Bede.** By the Right Rev. G. F. BROWNE, B.D.

THE HOME LIBRARY.*Crown 8vo. Cloth boards. 3s. 6d. each.*

- Black and White.** Mission Stories. By H. A. FORDE.
- Charlemagne.** By the Rev. E. L. CUTTS, D.D. With Map.
- Constantine the Great.** The Union of the Church and State. By the Rev. E. L. CUTTS, D.D.
- Great English Churchmen; or, Famous Names in ENGLISH CHURCH HISTORY AND LITERATURE.** By the late W. H. D. ADAMS.
- John Hus.** The Commencement of the Resistance to Papal Authority on the Part of the Inferior Clergy. By the Rev. A. H. WRATISLAW.
- Judæa and her Rulers, from Nebuchadnezzar to Vespasian.** By M. BRAMSTON. With Map.
- Mazarin.** By the late GUSTAVE MASSON.
- Military Religious Orders of the Middle Ages: the Hospitallers, the Templars, the Teutonic Knights, and others.** By the Rev. F. C. WOODHOUSE, M.A.
- Mitslav; or, the Conversion of Pomerania.** By the late Right Rev. R. MILMAN, D.D. With Map.
- Narcissus: a Tale of Early Christian Times.** By the Right Rev. W. BOYD CARPENTER, Bishop of Ripon.
- Richelieu.** By the late GUSTAVE MASSON.
- Sketches of the Women of Christendom.** Dedicated to the Women of India. By the late MRS. RUNDLE CHARLES, author of "The Chronicles of the Schönberg-Cotta Family."
- The Church in Roman Gaul.** By the Rev. R. TRAVERS SMITH. With Map.
- The Churchman's Life of Wesley.** By R. DENNY URLIN, Esq., F.S.S.
- The House of God the Home of Man.** By the Rev. Canon JELF.
- The Inner Life, as Revealed in the Correspondence of Celebrated Christians.** Edited by the late Rev. T. ERSKINE.
- The Life of the Soul in the World: its Nature, Needs, Dangers, Sorrows, Aids, and Joys.** By the Rev. F. C. WOODHOUSE, M.A.
- The North-African Church.** By the late Rev. JULIUS LLOYD, M.A. With Map.
- Thoughts and Characters; being Selections from the Writings of the late Mrs. RUNDLE CHARLES.**

CHURCH HYMNS.

Nos. 1 to 7, in Various Sizes and Bindings, ranging in price from 1d. to 4s. 8d.

Church Hymns, with Tunes. Edited by Sir ARTHUR SULLIVAN. Crown 8vo., Fcap. 4to., and Folio (Organ copy), in various Bindings, from 2s. to £1. 1s.

Common Prayer Book and Church Hymns. Bound in One Volume, and in Two Volumes in Cases. Can be had in various Sizes and Bindings, from 6d. to 4s.

Common Prayer Book and Church Hymns, with Tunes. Brevier, 8vo., Limp paste grain roan, red edges, 6s.

COMMENTARY ON THE BIBLE.

Old Testament. Vol. I., containing the Pentateuch. By Various Authors. With Maps and Plans. Crown 8vo. Cloth boards, red edges, 4s.; half calf, 10s.; whole calf, 12s.; half morocco, 12s.

Old Testament. Vol. II., containing the Historical Books. Joshua to Esther. By Various Authors. With Maps and Plans. Crown 8vo. Cloth boards, red edges, 4s.; half calf, 10s.; whole calf, 12s.; half morocco, 12s.

Old Testament. Vol. III., containing the Poetical Books, Job to Song of Solomon. By Various Authors. Crown 8vo. Cloth boards, red edges, 4s.; half calf, 10s.; whole calf, 12s.; half morocco, 12s.

Old Testament. Vol. IV., containing the Prophetical Books, Isaiah to Malachi. By Various Authors. With two Maps. Cloth boards, red edges, 4s.; half calf, 10s.; whole calf, 12s.; half morocco, 12s.

Old Testament. Vol. V., containing the Apocryphal Books. By Various Authors. Cloth boards, red edges, 4s.; half calf, 10s.; whole calf, 12s.; half morocco, 12s.

New Testament. Vol. I., containing the Four Gospels. By the Right Rev. W. WALSHAM HOW, Bishop of Wakefield. With Maps and Plans. Crown 8vo. Cloth boards, red edges, 4s.; half calf, 10s.; whole calf, 12s.; half morocco, 12s.

New Testament. Vol. II., containing the Acts, Epistles, and Revelation. By Various Authors. With Map. Crown 8vo. Cloth boards, red edges, 4s.; half calf, 10s.; whole calf, 12s.; half morocco, 12s.

THE HEATHEN WORLD AND ST. PAUL.

This Series is intended to throw light upon the writings and labours of the Apostle of the Gentiles.

Fcap 8vo. Cloth boards. 2s. each.

Saint Paul in Greece. By the Rev. G. S. DAVIES, M.A., Charterhouse, Godalming. With Map.

Saint Paul in Damascus and Arabia. By the Rev. GEORGE RAWLINSON, M.A., Canon of Canterbury. With Map.

Saint Paul in Asia Minor and at the Syrian Antioch. By the late Rev. E. H. PLUMPTRE, D.D. With Map.

Saint Paul at Rome. By the late Very Rev. Charles MERIVALE, D.D., D.C.L. With Map.

ANCIENT HISTORY FROM THE MONUMENTS.

This Series of Books is chiefly intended to illustrate the Sacred Scriptures by the results of recent Monumental Researches in the East.

Fcap. 8vo. Cloth boards. 2s. each.

Sinai, from the Fourth Egyptian Dynasty to the Present Day. By the late HENRY S. PALMER. With Map. A New Edition, revised throughout by the Rev. Professor SAYCE.

Babylonia (the History of). By the late GEORGE SMITH. Edited and brought up to date by the Rev. Professor SAYCE.

Assyria, from the Earliest Times to the Fall of Nineveh. By the late GEORGE SMITH.

Persia, from the Earliest Period to the Arab Conquest. By the late W. S. W. VAUX, M.A., F.R.S. A New and Revised Edition, by the Rev. Professor SAYCE.

NATURAL HISTORY RAMBLES.

Intended to cover the Natural History of the British Isles in a manner suited to the requirements of visitors to the regions named.

Fcap. 8vo. with numerous Woodcuts. Cloth Boards. 2s. 6d. each.

In Search of Minerals. By the late D. T. ANSTED, M.A.

Lakes and Rivers. By C. O. GROOM NAPIER, F.G.S.

Lane and Field. By the late Rev. J. G. WOOD, M.A.

Mountain and Moor. By J. E. TAYLOR, Esq., F.L.S.

Ponds and Ditches. By M. C. COOKE, M.A., LL.D.

Sea-Shore (The). By Professor P. MARTIN DUNCAN.

Underground. By J. E. TAYLOR, Esq., F.L.S.

Woodlands (The). By M. C. COOKE, M.A., LL.D.

MANUALS OF ELEMENTARY SCIENCE.

A Set of Elementary Manuals on the principal Branches of Science.

Fcap. 8vo. Limp cloth. 1s. each.

Electricity. By the late FLEEMING JENKIN, F.R.S.

Physiology. By A. MACALISTER, LL.D., M.D., F.R.S.

Geology. By the Rev. T. G. BONNEY, M.A., F.G.S.

Crystallography. By HENRY PALIN GURNEY, M.A.

Astronomy. By W. H. M. CHRISTIE, M.A., F.R.S.

Botany. By the late Professor BENTLEY.

Zoology. By ALFRED NEWTON, M.A., F.R.S. A New Edition.

Matter and Motion. By the late J. CLERK MAXWELL, M.A.

Spectroscope and its Work (The). By the late RICHARD A. PROCTOR.

THE PEOPLE'S LIBRARY.

Crown 8vo. Cloth boards. 1s. each.

- A Chapter of Science; or, What is a Law of Nature?** Six Lectures to Working Men. By Professor J. STUART, M.P. With Diagrams.
- A Six Months' Friend.** By HELEN SHIPTON, author of "Christopher." With several Illustrations.
- British Citizen (The):** his Rights and Privileges. A short History by the late J. THOROLD ROGERS, M.P.
- Factors in Life.** Three Lectures on Health—Food—Education. By the late Professor SEELEY, F.R.S.
- Guild of Good Life (The).** A Narrative of Domestic Health and Economy. By Sir B. W. RICHARDSON, M.D., F.R.S.
- Household Health.** A Sequel to "The Guild of Good Life." By Sir. B. W. RICHARDSON, M.D., F.R.S.
- Hops and Hop-Pickers.** By the Rev. J. Y. STRATTON. With several Illustrations.
- Life and Work among the Navvies.** By the Rev. D. W. BARRETT, M.A. With several Illustrations.
- The Cottage Next Door.** By HELEN SHIPTON. With several Illustrations.
- Thrift and Independence.** A Word for Working Men. By the Rev. W. LEWERY BLACKLEY, M.A.

SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE.

LONDON: NORTHUMBERLAND AVENUE, W.C.;

43, QUEEN VICTORIA STREET, E.C.

BR1705.F4 B6

Smith, Issac Gregory, 1826-
Boniface /

BR
1705
F4
B6

Smith, Isaac Gregory, 1826-

... Boniface. By the Rev. I. Gregory Smith
under the direction of the Tract committee. London:
Society for promoting Christian knowledge; New York:
J. B. Young & co., 1896.

106 p., 11, 17 cm. (The Fathers for English readers.)

... Bonifacius, originally Winifred Saint, abbot
of Wearmouth, England, Christian knowledge.

III. Series.

Library of Congress

228104

